THE AU/UN HYBRID PEACE OPERATION IN AFRICA – A NEW APPROACH TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

BAREND LOUWRENS PRINSLOO
B.A. (Political Science) cum laude
B.A. (Hons) (Development and Management)
M.A. (Political Science)

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

IN POLITICAL STUDIES

in the
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL AND GOVERNMENT STUDIES

at the
NORTHWEST UNIVERSITY, POTCHEFSTROOM CAMPUS.

Promoter: Prof. D.Van Niekerk

March 2012
DECLARATION

I declare that: “The AU/UN Hybrid Peace Operation in Africa – a new approach to maintain international peace and security”, is my own work, that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this thesis was not previously submitted by me or any other person for degree purposes at this or any other university.

The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations.

Signature

Date 1 October 2011
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A thesis such as this could not have been prepared in isolation. There have been many people who helped, inspired and opened doors along the way. Firstly, I must acknowledge all of those organisations which have enthused about and contributed new ideas on international peace and security and which thus represent the aspirations of humankind. (In this particular instance, some should best remain unnamed and others such as the United Nations and the African Union should be especially highlighted.) Though perfection is never achieved and it is easy to realise that these organisations can never quite deliver what they aim or promise to do, they do show us that humankind inherently knows what the difference is between right and wrong and has a collective and interconnected soul. We should all continue to aspire to do what is right regardless of political pressures to succumb to cynicism. Secondly, I have to single out those people who have helped, supported and opened doors along the way:

- Professor Dewald van Niekerk: thank you for the opportunity to work with you, as well as for your guidance, and words of wisdom on the side to Victoria throughout the study.
- My wife, Victoria: you are the best! I love you and am so grateful that you are in my life. Without you this thesis would have taken longer to complete…
- My daughter, Jade: you are the best child God could have given to us, and I love you more than anything.
- Mrs Isabel Blom: thanks for your support and help in getting academic articles every time I asked.
- Mr Christian Saunders: you are one of the most honest men I know and supported me without hesitation when I needed permission for the study. Thank you.
- All the respondents in the study: without you, of course, there would have been no study. Your experiences with United Nations peacekeeping make publications such as this possible. You are the true experts.

*Soli Deo Gloria!*
ABSTRACT

The perpetual conflict in Darfur, Sudan, which started anew in 2003, had dire humanitarian consequences and threatened international peace and security. The UN Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, adopted Resolution 1769 on 31 July 2007 and authorised a 26 000 person-strong joint African Union/United Nations hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID) to take over from AMIS (the African Union peace operation in Darfur). UNAMID was established with dual command and control linked to both the African Union and the United Nations and both organisations would have an equal say in its mandate and operations. Given this unique and unprecedented arrangement between a regional organisation and the United Nations in terms of maintaining international peace and security, the aim of this research was to:

- Understand and describe the political motivations/reasons why the United Nations formed a hybrid peace operation with the African Union;
- Establish in which way the aforementioned impacted on future efforts of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, especially on the African continent; and, based on this,
- To determine whether or not hybrid operations were a viable alternative for the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

By means of a thorough analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of international peace and security, an assessment of the peace and security architecture of the United Nations and the African Union, an investigation into the origins of the Darfur conflict, an examination of the structure and mandate of UNAMID, and through an empirical investigation, a new theoretical proposition is provided in the conclusion of the thesis. It is concluded that the UNAMID model, in practical terms, is not an optimal mechanism for the United Nations to use to maintain international peace and security because it suffers from numerous internal political inequities and operational inadequacies.
Keywords: African Union/United Nations hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID), United Nations peacekeeping, hybrid peacekeeping operation, African Union, Darfur, Sudan, United Nations Resolution 1769 (2007), international peace and security
SAMEVATTING

Die deurlopende konflik in Darfoer, Soedan, wat opnuut in 2003 begin het, het nypende humanitêre probleme tot gevolg gehad en internasionale vrede en sekeriteit bedreig. Die Verenigde Nasies se Veiligheidsraad, wat primêr daarvoor verantwoordelik is om internasionale vrede en sekeriteit te verseker, aanvaar op 31 Julie 2007 Resolusie 1769 en skep ’n hibriede operasie in Darfoer, wat gesamentlik uit 26 000 mense van die Afrika-Unie en die Verenigde Nasies bestaan (UNAMID), bemagtig om by AMIS (die Afrika-Unie se vredesoperasie in Darfur) oor te neem. UNAMID was daargestel met wedersydse bevel-en-beheer en was tot beide die Afrika-Unie en die Verenigde Nasies verbind, terwyl albei organisasies gelyke insae met betrekking tot sy mandaat en operasies gehad het. In ag genome hierdie unieke en ongehoorde ooreenkoms tussen ’n streeksorganisasie en die Verenigde Nasies in terme van die handhawing van internasionale vrede en sekeriteit, het hierdie navorsing ten doel gehad om:

- die politieke motiverings en redes te verstaan en te beskryf waarom die Verenigde Nasies ’n hibriede vredesoperasie met die Afrika-Unie gevorm het;
- vas te stel in watter mate bogenoemde ’n impak op die toekomstige pogings van die Verenigde Nasies sal hê om internasionale vrede en sekeriteit te handhaaf, veral in Afrika; en, daarop gebaseer,
- te bepaal of hibriede operasies ’n lewensvatbare alternatief vir die Verenigde Nasies is om internasionale vrede en sekeriteit te handhaaf.

Deur middel van ’n deeglike analyse van die teoretiese onderlegging van internasionale vrede en sekeriteit, ’n assessering van die vrede-en-sekeriteit-argitektuur van die Verenigde Nasies en die Afrika-Unie, ’n ondersoek na die oorsprong van die Darfoer-konflik, en ’n beskouing van die struktuur en mandaat van UNAMID is ’n nuwe teoretiese voorstel in die slotsom van die tesis ontwikkeld. Daar is egter vasgestel dat die UNAMID-model, in praktiese terme, nie ’n optimale meganisme vir die Verenigde Nasies is om internasionale vrede en sekeriteit te handhaaf nie, omdat dit deurspek is met politieke ongelykhede en operasionele ongenoegsaamhede.
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

In articles and other publications, acronyms are readily substituted for the full description of an entity and/or an organisation. The acronym itself becomes almost as popular as the name or description itself, and sometimes even supersedes it. For instance, the ‘United Nations’ is readily referred to as the ‘UN’; despite the fact that the United Nations requires that the words “United Nations” never be abbreviated (DGAACS, 2000:40). Throughout this thesis, the ‘United Nations’ is always written in full, as is also the case with ‘African Union’. The only times that the acronyms or abbreviations ‘UN’ or ‘AU’ are used respectively, occur when they denote association. Accordingly, the General Assembly of the United Nations is referred to as the UN General Assembly and the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union is referred to as the AU PSC. Below are acronyms which are used throughout the thesis. They are always written in full when first mentioned, but this list serves as an easy reference.

ACABQ  Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
AIDS/HIV  Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome/ Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AMIS  African Union Mission in Sudan
AMISOM  African Union Mission in Somalia
AMU  Arab Maghreb Union
ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASF  African Standby Force
AU PRC  African Union Permanent Representatives Committee
AU PSC  African Union Peace and Security Council
AU  African Union
AUPD  African Union High Level Panel on Darfur
CADSP  Common African Defence and Security Policy
CAR  Central African Republic
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEWS</td>
<td>Continental Early Warning System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFC</td>
<td>Ceasefire Commission (in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNT</td>
<td>Chadian National Concord (political party in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Defence Pact</td>
<td>African Union Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement (of Sudan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSSDCA</td>
<td>Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDDC</td>
<td>Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIF/A</td>
<td>Darfur Independence Front/Army (Rebel group in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DITF</td>
<td>Darfur Integrated Task Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJAM</td>
<td>Darfur Joint Assessment Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLF</td>
<td>Darfur Liberations Front (in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPA</td>
<td>Darfur Peace Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPAIU</td>
<td>DPA Implementation Unit (in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUP</td>
<td>Democratic Unionist Party (of Sudan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Central African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Council of the United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUFOR</td>
<td>European Union Force (in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUCD</td>
<td>United Front for Democratic Change (in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G19</td>
<td>Group of 19 (SLM/A splinter rebel group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNU</td>
<td>Government of National Unity (in Sudan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoC</td>
<td>Government of Chad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoE</td>
<td>Government of Eritrea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoS</td>
<td>Government of Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoSS</td>
<td>Government of Southern Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSLM</td>
<td>Great Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM/A splinter rebel group)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>GUNT</td>
<td>National Union Transition Government (in Chad (1979))</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICSS</td>
<td>Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICTR</td>
<td>International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICTY</td>
<td>Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Authority on Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGADD</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILC</td>
<td>International Law Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Interim National Constitution (of Sudan (2005))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEM</td>
<td>Justice and Equality Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEM-CL</td>
<td>JEM-Collective Leadership (Rebel group in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEM-FRC</td>
<td>JEM-Field Revolutionary Command (Rebel group in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEM-WFP</td>
<td>JEM-Wing for Peace (Rebel group in Darfur)</td>
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<td>JSCM</td>
<td>Joint Support and Coordination Mechanism (between the African Union and the United Nations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAS</td>
<td>League of Arab States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LJM</td>
<td>Liberation and Justice Movement (rebel group in Darfur)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDJT</td>
<td>Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad</td>
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<tr>
<td>MILOBS</td>
<td>Military Observers (in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINURCAT</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINURSO</td>
<td>United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara</td>
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<tr>
<td>MINUSTAH</td>
<td>United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUC</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCP</td>
<td>National Congress Party (of Sudan)</td>
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<td>NCRC</td>
<td>National Constitutional Review Commission (for Sudan)</td>
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<td>NDA</td>
<td>National Democratic Alliance (of Sudan)</td>
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<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for Africa’s Development</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NIEO</td>
<td>New International Economic Order</td>
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<td>NIF</td>
<td>National Islamic Front (of Sudan)</td>
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<td>NMRE</td>
<td>National Movement for Reform and Development (Rebel group in Darfur)</td>
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<td>NPC</td>
<td>National Petroleum Commission (in South Sudan)</td>
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<td>NRF</td>
<td>National Redemption Front (SLM/A splinter rebel group)</td>
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<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organisation of American States</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUMOZ</td>
<td>United Nations Operations in Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td>P-5</td>
<td>Five permanent members of the UN Security Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCP</td>
<td>Popular Congress Party (of Sudan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDF</td>
<td>People’s Defence Forces (of the GoS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNC</td>
<td>Popular National Congress (of Sudan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSD</td>
<td>(African Union) Peace and Security Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>Pre-Trail Chamber (of the ICC)</td>
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<td>RaFD</td>
<td>Rally of Democratic Forces (political party in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RaFD</td>
<td>Rally of Democratic Forces (in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBB</td>
<td>Results-Based Budgeting (system)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Revolutionary Command Council (in Sudan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDL</td>
<td>Rally for Democracy and Liberty (in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Regional Economic Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAARC</td>
<td>South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAF</td>
<td>Sudan Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCCED</td>
<td>Special Criminal Courts on the Events in Darfur</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEATO</td>
<td>Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFDA</td>
<td>Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance (political alliance in Darfur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/A</td>
<td>Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/AS</td>
<td>SLM/A splinter rebel group under the leadership of Ahmed Abdel Shafie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/AW</td>
<td>SLM/A splinter rebel group under the leadership of Abdel Wahid al-Nur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/Free Will</td>
<td>Sudan Liberation Movement/Free Will (SLM/A splinter rebel group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/Khamis</td>
<td>SLM/A splinter rebel group under the leadership of Khamis Abdalla Abakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/MM</td>
<td>SLM/A splinter rebel group under the leadership of Mini Minnawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLM/Unity</td>
<td>Sudan Liberation Movement/Unity (SLM/A splinter rebel group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOFA</td>
<td>Status of Forces Agreement (between UNAMID and the GoS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPLM/A</td>
<td>Sudan’s People Liberation Movement/Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRSG</td>
<td>Special Representative of the Secretary-General (of the United Nations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSDF</td>
<td>South Sudan Defence Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFDD</td>
<td>Union of Forces for Democracy and Development (political party in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFDD-F</td>
<td>UFDD-Fundamental (political party in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFR</td>
<td>Union des Forces de la Résistance/Union of the Forces of Resistance (in Chad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Charter</td>
<td>(The) Charter of the United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN DPA</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Political Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN DPKO</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
</tr>
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<td>UN Security Council</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMIR</td>
<td>United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda</td>
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<td>UNAMIS</td>
<td>United Nations Advance Mission in Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNCHR</td>
<td>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCTAD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDOF</td>
<td>United Nations Disengagement Observer Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFICYP</td>
<td>United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNGA</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHQ</td>
<td>UN Headquarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHRC</td>
<td>United Nations Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIFIL</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNLB</td>
<td>United Nations Logistics Base at Brindisi, Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMEE</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Liberia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIS</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in the Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMIT</td>
<td>United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNOAU</td>
<td>United Nations Office to the African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOCI</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOMIG</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOSOM</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAG</td>
<td>United Nations Transition Assistance Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNV</td>
<td>United Nations Volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>Umma Party (of Sudan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USG DPKO</td>
<td>UN Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEU</td>
<td>Western European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons-of-Mass-Destruction</td>
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</table>